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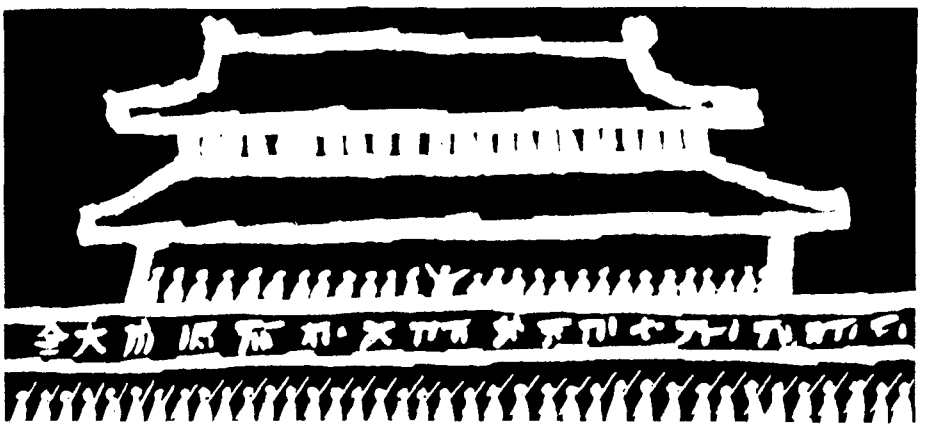

TWO CHINAS

Time for a new policy

Henry S. Reuss

USING COUNCIL DOCUMENTS

Robert McAfee Brown

SWING, BRITANNIA

William Pfaff

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NEWS AND VIEWS

One of the most outspoken responses to Father DuBay's proposal for a union of priests was a letter written by Father John R. McCarthy of Ironton, Ohio, and published in the diocesan newspaper, The Steubenville *Register*. Excerpts follow:

I saw two items in the newspaper: First, the union proposal; then, the notice of Father DuBay's transfer. The first surprised me more than the second. The episcopal method of swift and merciless retaliation against those who disagree is well known to every priest.

But are priests willing to make the sacrifices necessary to feed the union born of this injustice? I am afraid not. Despite what magazine articles say and popular fancy might think, the chief vices of the clergy are not drink and sex.

Since that incident at the Last Supper when a jealous dispute broke out among the Apostles about which of them should rank highest Luke 22:24), the besetting vices of the clergy have been ambition and the selfishness on which it feeds. One has only to listen to a limited amount of clerical conversation to discover what short shrift is given to those of the brethren who are ground down in the episcopal machinery.

Even some of those who have themselves been losers in the game speak with respect and admiration of the winners, and are often the most disparaging of fellow losers.

As one keen observer put it: "I became a priest thinking to join the brotherhood of the priesthood, but I quickly discovered that few were willing to be my brothers; most wanted only to be my superior."

Certainly Vatican II has eschewed secular power and triumphalism, and has encouraged freedom of conscience, the neutral state, and ecumenism in a scope broader than the reunion of Christian churches.

Father DuBay's labor federation for priests becomes a conservative and old-fashioned move in the face of these progressive proposals of the Council.

Furthermore, no matter how bad priests might be, or to what lengths even worse Bishops might drive them, neither Bishops nor priests want to lead the laity away from the faith—and that is what the present circumstances might demand in order to make a success of a labor union for priests.

No government intervention, no mass support of the people, and no spirit of sacrifice among the priests add up to no union for priests.

In Camus' distinction between the revolutionary and the rebel, the revolutionary is not in opposition to the system but to *his* place in it. He would overthrow the leader to become the leader himself, either in the present system or in a new system if necessary.

The rebel, on the other hand, is in opposition to abuses, and speaks out for the sake of reform. Being oblivious to his own position in the system, his criticism cannot be changed by promotion or demotion—only by correction of the abuse.

Unfortunately, revolutionaries outnumber rebels among priests. This can be best seen in the pastor-assistant relationship when it involves conflict.

Bishops have a tendency to regard all complaint as revolutionary and subject to solution with time, change, and promotion. They would be better advised to learn to recognize the rebels, put them in some unimportant but unassailable position, and then listen to them.

In the Church there is no place for overthrow. It is impossible to escape the Papal-Hierarchical-Sacramental foundation stone of the whole business. This is what happened in those cases we call schism, heresy, and Reformation.

They were unfortunate, but are the price the Church will continue to pay for not recognizing her rebels. Furthermore, the rebel can turn into a revolutionary without seeming to lose his high purpose; and then he becomes a reformer, a martyr, and a saint. Why does the Church insist on complicating her mission of salvation by creating martyrs and saints outside of her fold?

It behooves the priest, after he has made his effort at reform, to go to his punishment as silent as the lamb to the shearer—the example, par excellence, of passive, non-violent resistance.

Silence and inactivity out of fear are like the unproductive fig tree, but silence and inactivity out of contempt for hierarchical injustice and abuse are like the tender shoots that tell us summer is near.

A decay in learning and security among priests leads to a loss of dignity and a decline in vocations. This brings a lowering of standards, and history takes its toll in a rapidly spiraling, downward course.

The mission lands are not yet at the peak of development, North America is over the top and beginning to slide downward, Europe is further along the road to trouble, and South America seems at the point of no return.

In South America anything and everything is being tried, but it all seems too little too late. In Europe the most valiant efforts are being made, and the Bishops and observers at the Council from that part of the world demonstrated it in their unquestioned leadership and progressiveness at Vatican II.

Only in the most intimate clerical circles is there any awareness of a decline in quality.

Only the Holy See and the Bishops can do anything about this situation. Priests can only raise their voices in protest, get punished, and then be silent.

As long as the Holy See makes the present caliber of men Bishops (virtuous men, no doubt, but from narrow-viewed in-groups of the politically acceptable—in other words, they are propagating their own kind) and the Bishops insist on promoting, and rewarding, and surrounding themselves with men whose chief qualities are uncritical docility, there is no hope. The cycle of history will move on and the threat to bury us will become a reality.

The Church will survive, of course, but only because God has promised that it will; and survival will be in small groups of the elect, not in the magnificence that is her proper heritage as Mother and Teacher of the whole world.

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CORRESPONDENCE

Rahner and Heresy

New Haven, Conn.

To the Editors: In his article on "Conscience and Orthodoxy" (April 1), Daniel Callahan quotes Karl Rahner to the effect that holding a heretical position on one doctrinal "truth" logically entails (eventually) a denial of the whole truth of revelation, and he goes on to make the point that such an assertion is impossible to prove.

I do not disagree with Mr. Callahan's argument, but in fairness to Rahner it should be pointed out that immediately following the quoted passage, Rahner qualifies what he said with the converse assertion that the "essential" truths which the "heretic" still continues to hold also carry a logical development toward the whole of Christian revelation. The conclusion of the line of argument is that it is objectively impossible ever to decide "with absolute certainty whether the heretic despite his heresy is in the truth by reason of the Christian truth to which he adheres, or whether despite these truths he is really in error because of the heretical doctrines which he holds." I take it from his article that Mr. Callahan would not disagree with this, though he might want to carry it further, namely to the extent of saying that such "heresy" as is outlined by Rahner is inevitable for the Christian.

WILLIAM C. SHEPHERD

"The Transportation Tangle"

Washington, D.C.

To the Editors: It seems to us that William V. Shannon's February 18 article on transportation ("The Transportation Tangle") betrays either deficient information or lack of understanding of the terms of transport today.

He cites as "enormous subsidies" what he calls "government-built super-highways for the trucks." In 1964 alone, large trucks paid $1,619,000,000 in federal and state special road-use taxes. Government-built? Of course, but from

(*Continued on page 263*)

NEWS & VIEWS: 244 **CORRESPONDENCE: 245**
EDITORIALS: 245
SWING, BRITANNIA: *William Pfaff* **248**
THE VIRTUES OF IDEOLOGY: *James O'Gara* **250**
TWO CHINAS: *Henry S. Reuss* **251**
USING COUNCIL DOCUMENTS: *Robert McAfee Brown* **254**
VERSE: 256
THE STAGE: *Wilfrid Sheed* **257** **THE SCREEN:** *Philip T. Hartung* **257**
BOOKS: 259

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VIETNAMESE ELECTIONS

Almost a month ago now the South Vietnamese military junta agreed, in response to Buddhist demands, to allow the eventual election of a civilian government. The first step toward this end was to be the formation of a representative group to draft electoral laws; the second would be the approval of these laws by a 100-man electoral commission; the third, the use of these laws for the election of a constituent assembly; the fourth, the writing by this assembly of a constitution; and finally, with the constitution in hand, the election of a civilian government. If all went well, the election for the constituent assembly would be held in August and, after that, the election of a civilian government about six or eight months later.

That was the plan and, like most other theoretical projects in South Vietnam, it seemed reasonable enough. Democracy was on its way. But democracy does not come so easily, especially in Vietnam. It didn't take Premier Ky long to decide that the scheduled August election would have to be pushed back to September, and then to October. Neither did it take him long to declare that, whatever the outcome of the election for the constituent assembly, he expected to be in power for another year. Nor did he long hesitate about asserting that, should the election favor the formation of a neutralist or Communist government, "we will fight."

But Premier Ky is hardly the only person to be worried about the outcome. The Catholics are fearful that the elected regime might be dominated by the Buddhist majority. Some army officers are concerned that the Buddhists might win and then engage in negotiations with the Vietcong. The Buddhists are worried that the present junta will only allow the elections to come off at all if the results promise to favor the junta and its thinking. And of course there is the problem of how South Vietnam can have elections in the midst of a war; how any semblance of democratic political campaigning could be managed when only 25 percent of the country is controlled by Saigon (what would the Vietcong do?), where the communications media are now in the hands of the junta, and where every major group involved has indicated in advance that it would not passively accept an outcome it dislikes.

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At the moment everything seems to depend on the stability of the delicate balance of power between the junta and the Buddhists. Clearly, the junta does not want the final election at all, nor even—it can be guessed—the election of a constituent assembly to draw up a constitution. But just as clearly, the Buddhists have it within their power to bring down Premier Ky and his junta if they fail to promote the election. While it is perfectly possible that this stalemate could dramatically give way, more likely at the moment is a surreptitious attempt from both sides to control the formation of the electoral laws and the formation of the constituent assembly. This is already happening: Premier Ky is making it known he believes himself entitled to stay in power until the final election even if the constituent assembly turns out to have a Buddhist majority. The Buddhists, on the other hand, are making known their belief that, if they constitute a majority in the constituent assembly, this will amount to a de facto repudiation of Ky's regime and thus require his resignation at once.

The attitude of the Johnson Administration toward the election and toward the pre-election disputes is obscure. It welcomed the settlement a month ago between Ky and the Buddhists, but probably more for the sake of internal South Vietnamese political peace than for the prospect of elections. For a variety of pragmatic reasons, the Administration has supported Ky and done everything possible to enhance his power and reputation. It seems inconceivable that, as it continues to escalate the war, it could really want to see a potentially unstable civilian government come into power. At the same time, the Administration is under pressure to show the world that it seeks freedom and democracy in South Vietnam; hence, it can hardly afford to oppose the elections. Its conduct during the election disputes should do much to show how serious it is about its proclaimed desire for freedom—eventually it may be forced to choose between this freedom and the efficient pursuit of the war campaign.

The only proper choice, we believe, would be for freedom. This means that there must be no American attempt to manipulate the election process or to nullify the election results. Beyond that, it also means that the Administration will have to use its power, coercive or persuasive, to see that the junta exercises an equal self-restraint.

DUVALIER'S HAITI

If pure evil doesn't exist in this world, then its approximations must serve. The Nazi state, for example, serves as a model for hypothetical ethical questions: "If you were in Germany then, could you . . .?" and so forth. And the swastika is surely the ultimate graffito. This mixture of horror and fascination that surrounds the Hitler period is a normal, if inadequate, response to what happened. Duvalier's Haiti, on a smaller scale, has the makings of a similar obsession. Though quite different in almost every respect from modern industrial Germany of the 1930s and 40s, it too is demonic; at the core it doesn't fit into any political category. Duvalier's has been called, as Hitler's was, a gangster regime, yet reports make it seem rather a throwback to something darker and magical.

The question is whether to feed the demonological substance of the terror that rules Haiti, or to quickly throw cold water on the growing legend and try to deal sensibly with Duvalier as political dictator extraordinary only in the degree to which he has abused his power. Since the question is still unresolved with regard to Germany, we feel hardly in a position to be all that certain about Haiti. It is clear, in any case, that to keep power Duvalier has embarked on a course which must have a horrifying reckoning.

Thus far Duvalier has managed to put off the reckoning and to elude any solution from the outside, whether by the United States or by the Organization of American States, of which Haiti is a member. Between 1955 and 1962 Haiti received more than $40 million in U.S. grants. The Kennedy Administration cut this to a minimum, until in 1966 Haiti will receive only about $2 million in the form of health programs and free food. A grasping and ignorant Haitian bureaucracy, which assured failure of even the simplest programs, was as much responsible for the cutbacks as any consideration of principle.

A U.S. fleet has been patrolling off Haiti for the past month, expecting something but nobody is quite sure what. Duvalier may be in trouble again; his *tontons macoutes* reportedly have carried out fresh killings. In March, six crewmen of a fishing boat were executed, presumably because they sailed to Nassau to make contact with exiled rebels. But it is believed the boat actually traveled to Santo Domingo, and with no political purpose in mind. Presumably life goes on, but even this is curiously in doubt. A British reporter recently returned from Haiti wrote that unemployment, starvation and sickness have brought Port au Prince to a near standstill.

It is estimated that one-third of the total population of Haiti lives in exile. This includes not only potential revolutionaries, but Haitian peasants who have fled to neighboring islands such as the Bahamas, where they reportedly make up one-third of the population. Ghana is believed to have more Haitian doctors living and working there than Haiti itself. The same is said of Canada.

To recite the horrors of Haiti without being able to suggest possible remedies is a numbing task. Yet barring an armed invasion by the U.S. (Graham Greene offered that the Bay of Pigs landing should have been made there), there is little the U.S. can do except wash its hands very clean of the mess. The food and health programs should in any case continue. Even if much of the food is stolen and sold privately, some of it might get

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through to people. It is hardly more than a gesture, but it won't slow Duvalier's departure, which at this point doesn't depend any more on the people being fed.

The return of the U.S. embassy to Port au Prince in full strength doesn't help matters, but it doesn't hurt either unless, by some madness in Washington, it is a prelude to providing some support to Duvalier. One area in which the United States could do something positive about Haiti is the question of political exiles. We have thrown our doors wide open to Cuban refugees, but have done nothing for those fleeing Haiti. Some Haitians, in fact, have been turned away from the U.S. and the Bahamas and returned to God knows what fate at Duvalier's hands. As for the rest, the U.S. will probably have to live with an unsatisfactory wait-and-see policy toward Haiti. How much more unsatisfactory will it be for Haitians?

PROFITS AND SAFETY

Harry M. Philo of Detroit is one of a small group of attorneys who have made themselves experts on General Motors' Corvair. He reports that GM knew from the first that the Corvair rear suspension was dangerous, and that, in fact, Chevrolet's director of research had warned strongly in 1959 against a rear-engine over-steering car. The Corvair is now a very stable car, but the corrections came five and six years after the model was introduced. During that period, a million and a quarter unsafe Corvairs were sold, and Philo estimates that 10,000 people have been killed or injured as a result of Corvair's defects.

The Corvair story is merely the best known example of Detroit's delinquency. Now that public complacency has been shattered, more and more information is tumbling out, none of it particularly flattering to the auto industry. The general picture that has emerged is one of industrial indifference to safety because safety doesn't sell. The inevitable conflicts between styling and safety have always resulted in flashier, less safe cars. Even small and obvious reforms—the removal of jutting knobs and the blunting of dagger-like shift-sticks—have been stubbornly resisted in the name of styling. The tail fin of the Cadillac, to cite one styling garnish, has been known to kill people while parked. In 1963, a Washington girl, riding her bicycle, bumped into a parked Cadillac and impaled herself on a tail fin. She died two hours later. Two years earlier a small boy ran into a similar tail fin on a parked car. It punched a hole in his chest and he bled to death.

Detroit's contempt for safety is long and documented. One familiar refrain is that perfect safety is unattainable, given today's driving speeds and the fallibility of drivers. Yet estimates are that traffic deaths could be cut in half if Detroit were at all interested in the problem. A number of the independently constructed "safety cars," which Detroit has looked upon with little more than amusement, promise immediate gains. Shock-absorbent bumpers could be installed now. The material—ensolite—is readily available. In one experiment, eggs were dropped from a height of 125 feet onto a one-inch thick strip of the material. Not one of the eggs cracked. With this innovation, and others, experts think that cars can be built now to eliminate injury in head-on collisions at speeds of up to 60 miles per hour.

For all their technological expertise, the automakers have preserved the American car as a nineteenth-century bit of machinery. None of the radical changes that might suit the car to modern conditions has even been attempted. Nor have many of the simple ones. Until two years ago Detroit still lavished derision on the seat belt.

The most obvious lesson here is that responsibility for safer cars cannot be left to the automakers. One industry spokesman recently said competition within the industry was so fierce that his company "would cut your heart out to save a quarter" on each car. The corollary has been that any safety measure expected to cost that much would also be cut out, since "safety doesn't sell, and our job is to sell cars."

Since the industry has demonstrated that it is concerned only with profits, only two intelligent courses remain open—either pass strong federal safety legislation or convince Detroit that unsafe cars are unprofitable. Actually, the prospects are good that both courses will be successfully pursued. Just as the thalidomide tragedy revived the drug legislation after the drug industry had killed it, the Nader book and the harassment of Nader himself have aroused a public demand for a meaningful law. And though public indignation may be an unreliable factor in taking the profits out of unsafe cars, law suits against Detroit may be more successful. Huge suits against the industry by maimed drivers are becoming more common. Enough are being won, and at high enough figures, to expect that Detroit will get the message.

THE BRAZIL NUT

Brazil is America's favorite Latin American ally. It is the number one recipient of U.S. Latin American aid. It votes our way in the OAS. It sends troops to Santo Domingo and contributes generals to head the OAS "peace force." Its military government is against corruption. It is also against Communism.

Brazil, of course, is a dictatorship. Its political parties have been disbanded. Direct popular elections for important offices have either been ended or rendered meaningless by the government's powers to purge "subversives." Hundreds of Brazilian political leaders have had their political rights taken away. Thousands of officials have been removed from office. Left-wing labor leaders and student activists have been removed from their leadership positions, arrested, and treated arbitrarily. In some

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cases, leaders of left-wing Catholic organizations have had to leave the country. Recently, three 18-year-old members of Catholic University Action, an organization headed by the Archbishop of Recife, were held over a month—incommunicado, in military prisons and without formal charges.

Not that the U.S. condones such goings-on, mind you. Brazil was falling to pieces financially under João Goulart and wobbling dangerously leftwards. The military take-over two years ago was perfect. Modern-minded military leaders, sick of political bickering and corruption, would employ hard-headed experts to swiftly set the country back on its feet, and would then retire from power as easily as they had seized it. The U.S. recognized the new regime of Humberto Castello Branco at once, boosted our foreign aid commitment, and smiled approvingly at the austerity measures which the new government prescribed to tame the rampaging Brazilian inflation. The fact that the burden of these austerity measures fell on the shoulders of the poor while slipping easily off those of the rich, along with the presence, in the wings, of an old-fashioned rightist faction of the Brazilian military, probably caused the American State Department a little distress. But this was only to be a short-run affair. When it was all over, and the Brazilians were overflowing with prosperity and financial stability, they'd know we had been right all along, and love us for it.

Except it didn't work out that way. Inflation has indeed been slowed. That is to say the situation has gone from abysmal to merely very bad. Prices rose by 86 percent in 1964, only by about 50 percent in 1965. But this was accomplished by cutting deeply into the previously minimal standard of living of Brazil's poor. Lacking leaders to apply the necessary grass-roots pressure—thanks to government suppression of "subversives"—the plans for land reform collapsed. Returning from a visit to Brazil a few weeks ago, Secretary of Agriculture Orville Freeman admitted he was "pretty disturbed" at finding sugar plantation workers earning less than 83 cents a day. (Brazil's sugar plantations receive a preferred price from the U.S. for sugar, amounting to an extra $26 million yearly for the plantation owners.) A Catholic labor group in Brazil's Northeast issued a manifesto last February denouncing working conditions in that area. These conditions, it declared, appeared almost like a plan designed "to destroy persons by destroying their dignity and their rights."

And to top every other failure, a leader of the hard-line, reactionary faction of the Brazilian military, General Costa de Silva, has emerged as the most likely successor to Castello Branco—unless Castello Branco changes his mind and keeps the President's job for himself.

This leaves the Brazilians in a bad way. Where does it leave the U.S.? At present, America is closely identified, throughout all Latin America, with the Brazilian military dictatorship. Lincoln Gordon, newly appointed Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, was formerly ambassador to Brazil. American business leaders are establishing new programs (art exhibits and concerts) to win over hostile Brazilian students and intellectuals, and are holding conferences to discuss the importance of learning how to tell "the story of the free enterprise system" to the Brazilian public! It is precisely this kind of naive, apolitical optimism about a revolutionary situation which will get the U.S. precisely nowhere.

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FOREIGN AFFAIRS

SWING, BRITANNIA

Britain "swings"—*Time* and most tourists assure us—but which way? The old lady Britannia may wear Mary Quant and Emmanuelle Khan minifrocks and listen to Liverpudlian pop music from pirate radio stations, but she still seems unconfident who she is or what she's up to now that the imperial flags are down. The explosion of pop culture within British society is a result of the best thing about the new England—the spontaneous attack on what had been the most oppressive class system in the Western world. The political spectacle which Britain presents, though, is of a country which talks revolutionary change, and experiments with it at home, yet hardly knows what that change could really end in.

It is not true, moreover, that Britain's major social problems are very close to solution. The London *Sunday Times*, for example, recently described a series of "mixed" marriages—"can they work?" One of these mixed marriages, together with the interracial examples, was that of a girl from the aristocracy to a working class boy who had become a successful photographer. The photographer described the problems of his marriage, among them the protracted schooling he had had to force upon himself to be able to look people in the face when he spoke to them. The weight of this will be felt by any foreign visitor to Britain who has come nightmarishly to wonder if a door can be opened or an elevator operated anywhere in England except by a uniformed victim staring at the floor and ejecting " 'k yous" to every greeting, observation, complaint, query, or demand on his services. The second of the two nations still exists—made up of little dark men and women with bad teeth, chronic illnesses, servile manners, ugly accents, and a predestined fate in the social order.

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But the top people, tall and flash, are less secure now than in those days even of the '40s when Noël Coward, Celia Johnson, and Robert Donat saved democracy with the assistance of a number of indomitable warrant officers and sergeants major. Some of the younger non-top people have wedged themselves into (some of) the positions of power, and more important, some of them express contempt not only for the established system but for the "safe" (which is to say the assimilative) methods of changing it. It is hard, certainly, to see the Labor Party today as other than the less irrelevant of Britain's major parties, a sentimental memorial to workman's education, consumer cooperatives, an anachronistic economics, and middle-class guilt. Mr. Wilson's is hardly a radical figure; he could as well have come from the pre-1914 Britain as the post-1945.

The swinging Britain, then, manifests a popular attack —which may yet fail—on class, class manners, and class speech. It represents an upheaval of an older, randier Britain against the class puritanism to which a British queen gave her name and which has dominated official Britain for too long. The contrast between the mores and social assumptions of civil-service, business, power Britain, and the society which it ruled, has been an astonishment for more than a century. Part of Churchill's and Lloyd George's power was that, the one as an aristocrat, the other as a Welshman, they bridged the gap, touching the masses.

But if an established self-identification is being cracked in Britain today, what the new Britain might become is quite unclear. The economic prospects are not particularly good and the remedies are uncertain. The Wilson government shares the international fascination with the image established here by the Kennedy Administration, but without inquiring too closely into the Kennedy accomplishment. (Every ambitious politician abroad wants to become a "Kennedy," but it's all style rather than substance—the tragedy of Mr. Kennedy's brief Administration itself.) In military affairs there is an awed regard for Mr. McNamara's management techniques which seems to stifle any independent judgment of British needs. The British aircraft industry, with an assist from its own inefficiency, is being cost-evaluated out of existence. The independent British nuclear deterrent, which even today could deliver upon the Soviet Union a megatonnage greater than that which Russia could have delivered on America in the late 1950s, is treated, in the press at least, as an embarrassment, like a cache of nitroglycerine inherited with an old house and which one doesn't quite know how to dispose of, and as a result of government policy it is being subordinated to American technical and equipment constraints. (The new British Polaris submarines are heavily dependent on American technology.)

British foreign policy subsists on the memory of the Churchillian doctrine of preserving the American alliance at all costs. This made sense in Churchill's day because Britain was, and acted like, an important nation, and the United States needed and valued the partnership. Today, in the Pentagon and State Department, the British are regarded rather as Danes with a splendid command of our language and a Singapore base. British representatives in Washington wait in outer offices as our officials confer with Germans. The situation is not a healthy one. American attitudes today are governed not by any particular affection for Germany but by the fact that Germans are efficient, loyal to NATO, and have twelve divisions in the front line. Britain is seen as a useful naval auxiliary, as the political factor saving NATO from coming to be seen as a German-American alliance, and as performing a troublesome police function among the Middle Eastern oil principalities. But there is no belief in today's official Washington that Britain and America are even near-equals in any special partnership.

British foreign policy discussion, though, still revolves around the myth of Anglo-American special relationship. It assumes, as well, the various myths that America and Russia seek British mediation of their misunderstandings, that France, after de Gaulle, will rejoin the Atlantic club on humbled terms, that Europe, after all, is a second-rate place (and, too many of the Labor party would add, full of Papists and cartels), that the underdeveloped nations look to Britain for leadership, or that it is within British competence to become a Sweden.

All of this provides reason for a gloomy judgment on the country. And—politically—it seems certain that things will get very much worse before they get better. These myths, to say nothing of the domestic mythologizing which pits the values of an obsolete socialism against those of an obsolescent capitalism, are going to be discredited before the present Parliament reaches its statutory term. The redefinition of Britain's international role will be forced upon the nation. Even then there may be a neurotic reformulation of myths, a further intellectual withdrawal from the problem.

Yet for those of us who are incorrigible Anglophiles, there remain two reasons for optimism. The first is that the British, on the evidence of a very long record, are a tough, even a ruthless people with a superlative political gift when they choose to exercise it. The second is that Great Britain today does swing. A century of social stultification is under assault, and the attack means life, not decline. Kenneth Tynan may be, as Capote accurately says, a fading hipster, and the new Left playwrights belatedly discovering the class struggle, and the new movies not quite as brilliant as they are made out to be, and Carnaby Street an aesthetic catastrophe, but the fact remains that there is much more fireworks, fundamental controversy, and freedom in the scene they share than in that other fading seat of empire, Washington.

WILLIAM PFAFF

(Mr. Pfaff's latest book, written in collaboration with Edmund Stillman, is Power and Impotence, *published this week by Random House.)*

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ALL THINGS CONSIDERED

THE VIRTUES OF IDEOLOGY

The old crack about the bland leading the bland is hardly fair, but there is no doubt that President Johnson's love for consensus has its drawbacks. The President is a great follower of the political pollsters, and he even watches two or three TV newscasts at a time. All this is good enough; there is no denying that the chief executive needs to keep in touch with what the public are thinking; the question is: when should an elected official stop following public opinion and start leading it? When does a political figure have to stand up for what he believes in, no matter what the political pollsters have to say on the subject?

The problem is not an easy one. I am not naturally the ideological type, myself, and I have considerable sympathy for the kind of pragmatic politics of compromise that Mr. Johnson represents. Maybe this is because I have met my fair share of ideologues over the years.

In Eric Hoffer's now classic phrase, the ideologue is the true believer. He tends to ignore complexity, to see all issues in simple, black-and-white terms. Those on his side are the good guys, the guys in the white hats. The bad guys in the black hats are all in the opposition, and they are bad through and through—there are no mixed motives about them.

As far as the ideologue is concerned, there are no grays, no in-betweens. You're either for him or against him, and if you're against him it is not because of a difference in practical judgment but because of a previously unnoticed flaw in your character. If it is a religious ideologue you are dealing with, opposition simply represents "the cross of contradiction" and proves conclusively that he has been right all the time. Specific issues are not seen as simply that, issues on which men of good will might reasonably disagree, while still continuing to be the best of friends; they are moral imperatives, part of a great and necessarily unending crusade.

The civil rights movement has been suffering from a little of this attitude in recent times. There is a great tendency to think only in terms of the end and to ignore the matter of means; practical judgment is underrated, at least by many of the rank-and-file enthusiasts. As a result it is all too easy for a once-respected leader to be denounced as a gradualist or even damned as an Uncle Tom if he does not think this particular boycott or that particular picketing is a good idea. Witness some of the behind-the-back whispers directed at Martin Luther King.

All this makes the ideologue pretty hard to take. Politics (using the term in the broadest sense) is still the art of the possible. Picketing just for the sake of picketing, for example, without specific attainable goals, makes little sense. The same thing can be said about sit-ins, lie-ins and kneel-ins. Nonetheless, and despite my own temperamental predispositions, I think there is more to be said for the all-or-nothing type than this.

To stick to politics for a minute, take something like foreign aid. On this the facts are clear—painfully clear, for we have been discussing the issue off and on ever since the end of World War II. Much of the shape of the world in the future depends on what happens in the underdeveloped areas of Asia and Africa. If half the world is doomed to go hungry, lasting peace is impossible and we all know it. Yet when a specific foreign aid proposal comes up, most of us quickly become bored with it. The know-nothings call it money down a rat-hole and denounce do-gooders; a long debate ensues, and in the end a compromise is reached, one which salves our conscience but which in fact does not begin to solve the problem we face. In circumstances like these, one might welcome a few "extremists" who simply would not give in and by so refusing to compromise would at least keep the issue alive and in the public view.

Much the same thing is true in the Church. When it comes to religion, of course, moderation is hard to defend, at least in the case of Christians. For them the golden mean of the Romans has to be overridden by the Gospel description of the fate of the lukewarm. That is in theory. In practice, though, most of us manage to live with this terrifying Gospel maxim quite easily. At least I cannot say I find in myself or in most people I know any great tendency toward religious "extremism"—in fact, examples of it in real life manage to make most of us downright uncomfortable. When you come down to it, heroic virtue seems to appeal mostly to the young, and a very large part of the adult-run educational process is aimed at killing this tendency early in life, before people get "out in the world."

Apply all this to the debates going on inside the Church on free speech, on obedience and authority, on the whole question of reform and renewal. I personally can see how much progress has been made inside the Church in recent years. I am conscious of the human as well as the divine element in the Church, and I know that things human change slowly. These are all factors that make me more patient than some about the pace of reform inside the Church. But I simply recognize this fact in myself and record it; I do not pride myself on the fact. We can, of course, only act according to our light, but in this matter I must confess to moments of self-doubt; there are times when I fear that those who are called "extremists," those who will not settle for less than perfection right now, may be right after all.

JAMES O'GARA

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TWO CHINAS

Americans are ready for a new policy

HENRY S. REUSS

The time has come for the United States to embrace a policy of "two Chinas"—Nationalist and Communist—in the United Nations. For 15 years, opposition to U. N. representation for Communist China has been a firm, unyielding principle of American foreign policy. In seven votes in the House and Senate from 1951 through 1961 "keep Red China out" resolutions have amassed 1788 affirmative votes to only 2 nays. Politically, Communist China in the United Nations has been an unthinkable thought.

Yet before the United Nations General Assembly reconvenes in September, the United States Government must start rethinking its position. To withdraw our opposition to United Nations representation for Communist China, with continued membership for the Nationalist regime, is to embark upon a more realistic and promising course in America's relations with mainland China, to enhance the peacekeeping potential of the United Nations, and to avoid the danger of a potentially disastrous diplomatic defeat. Last year, on a motion to seat Communist China, the United States' dwindling majority in the United Nations ran out completely in a 47 to 47 vote, with 20 nations abstaining.

Meanwhile, however, the United States had reinforced its embattled position by securing passage of resolutions in 1961 and 1965 declaring the seating of Communist China an "important question," to be decided by a two-thirds majority. But here again, the majority declined from 61 to 34 with 7 abstentions in 1961 to 56 to 49 with 11 abstentions in 1965. Only a switch of four votes on the procedural question and only one additional vote on the main motion were needed to seat Communist China *and* expel the Nationalist government on Taiwan from the United Nations.

Once unseated as the representative of China, the Nationalist regime's admission to the United Nations as the government of Taiwan would be subject to a veto from the Soviet Union or Communist China. UN recognition of Communist China as the only representative of the China of 1945 would also have the effect of bolstering Peking's claim on Taiwan. The likelihood of a vote for representation of Communist China in spite of American opposition will soar if the issue is presented so that Nationalist China can continue its membership.

A number of countries, many of whom have opposed Communist China's admission at the expense of Nationalist China, have indicated their support for a two-Chinas policy. A San Francisco State University professor of international relations, Dr. Urban Whittaker, reported that, in interviews with 96 of the then 99 delegations to the United Nations in 1961, he found that more than three-fourths of them felt Communist China should be seated as the representative of China in both the Security Council and the General Assembly, and that two-thirds of them believed Nationalist China should retain its seat in the General Assembly.

On the other hand, the recent coups in Africa have boosted the chances the United States would have of browbeating a General Assembly majority into yet another vote against Communist China's representation. As a result of governmental changes around the world since the 1965 vote, it looks as though, all other things being equal, the United States might pick up two votes—Dahomey and the Central African Republic—for declaring

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seating of Communist China an "important question," and three votes—Dahomey, Central African Republic, and Congo (Leopoldville)—against seating Peking and expelling the Nationalist regime.

Of course, all other things are not going to remain equal. The 21st General Assembly surely will not convene with the same governments and the same international atmosphere that prevails today. China's conduct in the next few months could have a significant impact on the vote. A calculated reduction in Chinese truculence could put added steam behind efforts to seat Peking.

No one can predict the outcome with assurance. But unless the United States changes its policy, Communist China could well be voted a seat in the United Nations this year over American objections—inflicting a major diplomatic defeat that would shake domestic support for the United Nations and injure America's international status.

This risk, serious as it is, would still be worth running if the policy of excluding Communist China from the United Nations were in the interest of the United States, if it contributed to the stability of Asia and the peace of the world. But, on the contrary, dogged persistence in the policy of excluding from the United Nations the representatives of 750 million people is not in the United States' interest, for two central reasons:

1.) Representation of Communist China in the United Nations, if she joined, could make the United Nations a more useful instrument for international peace and stability. The Communist regime is in fact the government of mainland China and is likely to remain so for some time to come. Peking directs a quarter of the world's population, the world's largest army and a sizable, if obsolescent, air force. It has nuclear weapons and all too soon will have medium and long-range rockets. It has made significant economic progress despite the lack of outside help since 1957. China aspires to regain its former pre-eminence in Asia. And all round its borders—not least along the border with the Soviet Union—it has boundary disputes and Chinese irredentas.

The United States must do international business with China. The United Nations is the most important forum in which international business is conducted. Such great problems as the war in Vietnam, the spread of nuclear weapons, arms control, and boundaries, cannot be solved or even seriously negotiated without China's participation. By excluding China from the United Nations, the United States forces the creation and use of ad hoc groups, such as the Geneva Conference, which do include mainland China. It necessitates the back-alley device of maintaining contact between the United States and China through the ambassadors in Warsaw. It removes China from the pressures of world opinion exercised through the UN.

The great value of the United Nations as a continuing, constantly available focus of diplomatic activity is impaired when nations, and particularly major powers, are excluded. Universality of membership in the United Nations is not just a high-sounding ideal but a practical necessity if the world organization is to make its maximum contribution to world peace.

2.) Opening membership in the United Nations to Communist China has at least a chance of inducing moderation in future Chinese foreign policy. The present Chinese leaders, it is true, would probably reject contemptuously a two-Chinas policy in the United Nations, just as they spurned the United States' recent unilateral offer to issue visas to Chinese students and academicians.

But virtually the entire Chinese Communist leadership is destined to pass from the scene in a relatively short period of time. Many of the most alarming Chinese foreign policy doctrines—the "town and country" theory that the countryside of the world (the developing nations of Asia, Africa, and Latin America) will rise in people's wars against the cities of the world (North America and Europe), and the belief that "power grows out of the barrel of a gun"—have their roots in the revolutionary experience of the present leadership.

As with the original Russian Communist belief that the Russian revolution would be followed by similar upheavals in the other industrial nations, these doctrines may in time cease to have a real influence on Chinese policy. If the present Chinese rulers are international outlaws by the nature of their experience, their successors may well be outlaws only if outlawed. The attitude of China's new leaders, or the outcome of competition for leadership among rival viewpoints, is bound to be influenced by American policy.

Chinese Setbacks

One aspect of American policy—containment of China and support for the aspirations of developing nations—has helped create reasons for new Chinese leaders to adopt less aggressive policies. The militant foreign policies of the present leadership have met worldwide disaster. The pro-Chinese Indonesian Communist party has been smashed. The Algiers Conference in which the Chinese placed high hopes collapsed. Chinese influence has been broken in Dahomey, the Central African Republic, Ghana, and Kenya. Cuba is estranged and India has become more unified as a result of Chinese threats.

While frustrating Chinese aggressiveness, the United States should see to it that the alternative of a peaceful role in the international order is available to China. One Chinese objective that will surely remain, whatever the changes in leadership, will be the reassertion of the ancient prestige and influence of China. Treating China as an international pariah can only force this ambition into dangerous channels.

The process of re-assessing our China policy has at last begun. Increased contact of all sorts with Communist

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China—summarized in the watchwords "containment but not isolation"—was repeatedly advocated by China experts in recent hearings before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and the House Subcommittee on the Far East and the Pacific. Administration spokesmen such as Vice President Humphrey and Secretary of State Rusk have begun describing American-China policy in language similar to that of the China experts. Vice President Humphrey spoke of "containment without necessarily isolation." Secretary Rusk, in testimony to the Far East Subcommittee of the House Foreign Affairs Committee on March 16, released April 17, said that "when it can be done without jeopardizing other U.S. interests, we should continue to enlarge the possibilities for unofficial contacts between Communist China and ourselves—contacts which may gradually assist in altering Peking's picture of the United States."

And in fact, the United States has made a number of small moves toward de-isolation of China by offering to allow Americans to travel to China and to admit Chinese to the United States. China has spurned these overtures. "As for the possibilities of our trade (with China)," Assistant Secretary Bundy said, "every time the subject is seriously mentioned in this country, it is shot down immediately in Peking."

But if a willingness to drop the old isolation component of United States policy toward China is to mean anything, it must include opening the door of the United Nations to the Communist regime. Here, United States policy-makers have not yet budged. Secretary Rusk in his March testimony before the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee said: "So long as Peking follows its present course it is extremely difficult for us to see how it can be held to fulfill the requirements set forth in the charter for membership, and the United States opposes its membership." Assistant Secretary Bundy said during the same hearings that "We would not favor the admission of Peking under any circumstances foreseeable at the moment."

Then, on April 19, UN Ambassador Arthur Goldberg told the National Press Club that the United States was prepared to accept the seating of Communist China in the UN if China first retracted its unacceptable conditions and agreed "to be faithful to the Charter which contemplates a renunciation of force and a willingness to settle differences by peaceful means." While editorials were being prepared hailing this new evidence of reasonableness in American policy, the "State Department spokesman" hastened the following day to explain to newsmen that Ambassador Goldberg had really "stated there has been no change in United States policy with respect to the admission of Communist China to the United Nations and that policy was set forth by the Secretary (Rusk) in his statement to the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee."

What are the State Department's reasons for its stand against Mainland China's admission? It is said that a two-China policy is impractical because neither China will accept it. Communist China has set what the State Department rightly calls "impossible pre-conditions" for its entry into the United Nations. China has demanded the expulsion of Nationalist China, the complete reorganization of the UN including the expulsion of "imperialist puppets," the withdrawal of the General Assembly Resolution branding it an aggressor in the Korean War, and the condemnation of the U. S. as an aggressor in that conflict.

One cannot be sure that these demands are in fact preconditions of Chinese entry into the UN. Just as China's bellicose language on other issues has frequently accompanied a more cautious policy, there may be a wide gap between the extravagant language used by Peking and the action it would actually take if UN membership on fair terms were offered it.

Moreover, the fact that China has made fantastic demands does not compel the United States to cling to an unrealistic policy. Let the United States advance a fair and reasonable program for Mainland China's representation in the United Nations, and put on China the burden of rejecting it. As it is now, the United States bears the burden of maintaining opposition to even a reasonable two-China solution.

It is said also that a two-China policy is impractical because if China joined the UN the Chinese would, as Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs William Bundy said, "attempt to put a monkey wrench into every peacemaking effort which may be made in the world." Undoubtedly, Communist China would be a turbulent member of the United Nations, just as it is a turbulent member of the world community. But its disruptive proclivities are more likely to be subdued if it is in the United Nations. China would hesitate before incurring the wrath of the small countries and the developing nations, who place great importance in the United Nations, by unremitting efforts to sabotage the organization. Further, as one of 118 members of the General Assembly, it might speak loudly, but it would carry only a small monkey wrench.

Communist China as a permanent veto-wielding member of the Security Council would pose a more serious problem. If the United States fails to take initiatives in the UN that will allow the United States to remain in control of the situation, and Communist China is seated under a one-China resolution in spite of America's continued

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opposition, the Peking regime will assume China's Security Council seat. Had it held that seat during the Kashmir conflict, for example, it could, and no doubt would have wreaked havoc with Council efforts to end the fighting.

The Security Council seat was orginally given to China in 1945 because of its size and potential importance, and its contribution to the war effort. Nationalist China on Taiwan cannot now be entitled to the seat on those grounds. Communist China's record of belligerence is such that at this time it deserves nothing more than a General Assembly seat. In a two-China package, the United States would well propose the replacement of China on the Security Council by the other great continental Asian power, India. Nationalist China might block this proposal with its veto, but at least the United States would be on record for a sound arrangement of the Security Council.

If the Nationalist government determined to withdraw from the UN in protest against an offer of representation on the General Assembly to Communist China, that would be regrettable. But it might also clear the way for the elevation of India to the vacant Security Council seat. In any case, our obligation to the Nationalist regime is to assure the people of Taiwan the right to self-determination, not to pretend that the government in Taipei is the government of all China.

Finally, it is said that China is not legally entitled to membership in the UN since it has shown itself by word and deed not to be a "peace-loving state" as required by Article 4 of the Charter. Legalistically, the argument does not apply, since the question is one of representation of an existing member rather than the admission of a new member under Article 4. When the government of a member state changes, either constitutionally or by revolution, the new government represents the state. Since both the Communist and Nationalist governments hold parts of the territory of the China of 1945, both seem legally entitled to representation, just as Egypt and Syria assumed individual memberships after the breakup of the United Arab Republic.

Realistically, many nations belonging to the UN have also failed to be "peace loving" and to act in accordance with the Charter. As a member, Red China would have to accept the obligations of the Charter to settle international disputes by peaceful means. China, like any other nation, would be subject to suspension from the UN if enforcement action were taken against it under Article 2. Thus, far from rewarding Red China for its militance, membership in the UN would provide an international framework now lacking for widening responsibility on her part.

I believe Americans are ready for a new China policy in the UN. What has been remarkable about my position as an open advocate in the House of Representatives of a two-China policy is not how many but how few thunderbolts of protest have crashed around my head. The recent Gallup Poll confirmed a change in public attitude by showing the highest degree of support ever—25 percent—for seating Communist China in the UN. More important, it showed that a majority (56 percent) would favor this policy if it would lead to improved relations between the United States and China.

If the Administration believes that isolation of Mainland China is sterile, and that increased contacts can in time improve relations, let it translate that belief into changed policy in the United Nations this September. If China is to be isolated from the world, let it be China, not the United States, who does the isolating.

A Protestant Viewpoint

USING COUNCIL DOCUMENTS

ROBERT McAFEE BROWN

At the recent Notre Dame conference on the "Theological Issues of Vatican II," an interesting phenomenon emerged in the treatment of the council documents. Msgr. George Higgins noted that at various points in the discussion the Protestant participants were treating the documents in an almost sacrosanct manner, asking about the precise meaning of this phrase or that, exploring shadings of phraseology and nuance to get as specific and detailed an explanation as possible of precisely what the documents did and did not say; whereas the Catholic participants were considerably more free-wheeling, looking upon the conciliar statements as opening certain doors through which the Catholic participants were eager to march, but with less concern about exactly what the wording was that enabled them to get moving.

I think that on the whole this appraisal is an accurate one. It may be that we Protestants are in danger of being over-legalistic about the council documents. But before

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going on to comment on some of the possibilities that the Catholic attitude opens up, let me try to explain why Protestants tend to read the conciliar documents with the same kind of meticulous care that members of the Holy Office used to read the writings of Fathers Congar, de Lubac and Murray. For myself at least, and I am sure for many other Protestants as well, the pre-conciliar years were years when I saw all sorts of new possibilities emerging in Roman Catholic theology. It seemed to me that old thought forms and patterns were crumbling and that genuine possibilities of renewal were coming into view. But when I tried to make the point, by quoting Josef Geiselmann, or Karl Rahner, or John Courtney Murray, I would curtly be told by a certain type of Protestant (or Catholic) that of course these men spoke only for themselves, and that what they said did not commit the church, and that no assurance existed either that they would survive the next purge emanating from the Piazza di Sant'Uffizio or that their viewpoints, however survivable, would ever be more than private opinions. I was reminded, in other words, that I had better not count my theological chickens before they had been magisterially hatched. The need, in this period, was for *official* statements to confirm new trends. (How we used to labor to show that Pius XII's speech to the Italian jurists in 1953 really *did* have within it the seeds of a brand new view of religious liberty, and how we rejoiced when Pope John stated unambiguously in *Pacem in Terris* what we wanted to hear from the See of Peter.)

Thus, in those lean years, we were on the prowl for anything "official" that would enable us to be assured that the trends that seemed so hopeful to us were not just the aberrations of certain *avant garde* theologians whose opinions were "tolerated," but represented the coming to maturity of new positions within Catholicism. We were grasping for theological straws.

And then along came Vatican II, and gave us, not a few straws, but a whole haystack of "official" pronouncements, with all the weight of solemn declarations by the magisterium, carefully debated and formally promulgated decisions reached by the bishops in virtual unanimity. Since then we have been able to document the fact that the "two sources" theory of revelation has been repudiated. We have episcopal approbation for the assertion that guilt for the division of Christendom lies on both sides of the divide. We can point to conciliar paragraphs by the carload urging closer ecumenical cooperation on a variety of levels. We can quote authoritative approval of a measure of *communicatio in sacris* to those who still shy away from it. We can refer those who still assert monarchical papalism to Chapter 3 of *De Ecclesia*, even with the Explanatory Note thrown in. And so on and so on.

It is a heady experience to be released from the need to have to assert cautiously . . . that we see certain indications . . . that give us reasonable assurance . . . that a trend will probably develop . . . in a hopeful direction . . . within the next decade. For now we can point to authoritative documents, containing within them many things wonderful to hear and contemplate, things we had not been sure (even a few months ago) would finally get said at all. Is it any wonder, under the circumstances, that we want to nail things down as precisely as we can, and appeal to the specific statements of the sacred synod, rather than to the private opinions of a handful of north European theologians?

A New Enslavement?

So much I would offer by way of explaining the almost "fundamentalist" attitude some Protestants have been exhibiting toward the council documents. But, as Msgr. Higgins made plain at Notre Dame, there is a built-in danger here. The danger is one of trying to understand Catholicism by means of the backward look rather than the forward look, of trying to justify all that still remains to be done simply in terms of what has been done so far. If one of the gains of the council was to begin the process of liberating Catholic theology from a kind of static theological framework, we must be careful that the liberation is not turned into a new kind of enslavement, so that all that is said or done henceforth will have to be justified by quoting chapter and verse from some combination of what Msgr. Joseph Gallagher describes (in a fine bit of mathematics) as the "approximately 103,014 words" of the documents—excluding footnotes.

There is need, of course, for as clear an exegesis of the council texts as possible, although one trembles to contemplate the number of Ph.D. theses that will be spun out of Vatican II in the next half century. (My guess is that there will be "approximately 103,014" such dissertations, including footnotes.) But too much over-preoccupation with the texts, to a corresponding minimizing of the spirit of the texts, could freeze the onward development of Catholic theology prematurely. If this happens, the Council might become the end of an era, the culmination of a period to which one must always look back, rather than the springboard into a future in which Catholic theology has guaranteed to it a kind of open-endedness to new problems, new formulations, new possibilities.

Perhaps the vigor with which the Catholic commentators at Notre Dame used the documents as springboards sprang itself from the fact that many of them had worked intensively on the successive drafts and knew full well what things had had to be omitted or toned down for the sake of consensus. They were therefore unwilling to rest content with the documents as they now stand. Whether the conference was dealing with the liturgy, or revelation, or religious liberty, or the laity, or whatever, it was clear that more things remain to be said and indeed must be said.

Such a use of the documents well accords with Pope John's original intention that the council be pastoral rather than dogmatic, that it furnish guidelines and directions rather than fixed conclusions. And if Protestants have

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been hesitant thus far to adopt this interpretive stance, the reason, I think, is not hard to discover. We do not want the real doctrinal advances in the documents to run the danger of being discounted. We are eager that a few years hence, Catholic theologians find it possible, for example, to write off the religious freedom declaration on the ground that it is not doctrinally binding on the church but is only a bit of pastoral reflection.

By the same token, however, we need to be reminded that to fix the document too statically could impede further advances that are still needed. To revert to the text just mentioned, more needs to be said about the limitations of religious freedom than has yet been said, and this clarification will proceed more creatively if the present declaration does retain a somewhat open-ended quality. So the council will surely be more fruitful to both Catholics and Protestants if we see the council documents as pointers to the future, rather than as summations of the past.

There is one other factor that impinges on any attempt to enter into a dialogue with the documents, rather than simply learning to repeat their contents. For it seems clearer and clearer to me that what the documents "mean" is still in process of being determined. The documents in a real sense will become what the church makes them. Not all of them are of equal importance, and not all portions of them are equally significant. And the establishment of the priorities of significance will be determined in larger measure now that the council is over than could be determined while the council was in process.

For example, I do not recall a single mention (even of a derogatory nature) of the Decree on Communications during the entire week at Notre Dame. This conciliar utterance has already been swept under the episcopal rug and ignored. It will be increasingly hard to get people to take it with any seriousness. It has simply failed to evoke any positive response within the church. Similarly, one can ask about the meaning of the famous "footnote 14" in the chapter on marriage in The Church in the World Today. Interpretations more and more center on the claim that since reference to both *Casti Connubii* and Paul VI's speech to the papal commission on birth control is included in the footnote, this makes clear that a *new* position is being forged by the church, whereas I recall certain theologians in Rome arguing that the footnote clearly meant that all the provisions of *Casti Connubii* remained as implacably in force as ever. The meaning of the documents, I suggest, is partly determined by what the church does with them.

This is why it would be tragic if post-conciliar Catholic theology became merely a theology of the Council. It needs to be at least that, but it must also be more than that. The laity, for example, must not be satisfied to do only those things it is now clearly specified that they can do. They must see the document on the Apostolate of the Laity as the initiating of a fresh discussion of the place of the layman in the church, but they must not settle on it as a final declaration of the role of the laity in the future. Only in this way, it seems to me, will the doors Pope John originally opened, be left open. By all means, let us engage in careful study of the results of the Council. But let us also see the Council as the beginning of a new era, rather, than the culmination of an old one.

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JAMES SULLIVAN

THE INCREDIBLE POSITION OF GENERAL POISSON

"God rest us from our warfare now and then,
And let a little peace attend our time."
So breathed the famous soldier, Yves Poisson,
As he slogged up the hillside to his tent.
Below, the living battled heavy rain
For ground in which to lay the lately dead.

"The general is weary from his climb,"
His orderly consoled. "Not when I've sent
That many men to death," the soldier said.
"Consider what you've cost the King of Spain,"
The orderly returned. But Yves Poisson
Could only think of what he'd cost his men.

The general sat down. The batman bent
To pull his boots off. "Look at that—the stain
Of human blood." "It's mud. Parisiennes
Would gladly kiss the feet of Yves Poisson."
"I'm so fatigued, I'd let them go ahead,
But why should they be party to my crime?"

"The general is weary, that is plain."
"Not plain enough, I think," said Yves Poisson.
"No victory is ever so sublime
As no war in the first place." "Try your bed,
My general." "What was a field is fen,
And men are buried there like excrement."

All night the canvas over Yves Poisson
Rattled with the rain. The full watershed
Of his brain overflowed. "I shall repent,"
He swore, "of everything way back to when,
A schoolboy looking for a paradigm,
I dared to choose no less than Charlemagne."

The glory of the Frankish king who led
Young men to death against the Saracen,
The Saxon and the Slav—again, again,
And then again—lay buried in the slime
Downhill from where, all faith in heroes spent,
Lay France's newest hero, Yves Poisson.

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THE LAST ROUND-UP

THE STAGE

The Broadway season, which habitually comes in like a Cadillac and goes out like a Stutz Bearcat, is already showing signs of running out of gas some distance from home. The big houses are mostly tied up with hits (which I suspect doesn't mean that the plays are that much better, but only that they have grown tired of moving in and out), and the little houses are tied up with meritorious non-hits. To throw one last metaphor to the wolves in back of the sleigh, it is almost as if some damn fool had killed an albatross in the theater district, causing the winds to die down and life to shrivel.

However, the sign on the store says "Stage" so "Stage" it is. Actually, in a negative sort of way, the second half of this season has been much preferable to the first. A habit sets in along about November of deploring the current season, and after that the jaws just work automatically. But in fact, there has been much less to groan over than usual, and a few occasions for modest smiles.

On-Broadway has yielded "Philadelphia, Here I Come" and "Wait A Minim," a modest bag in all conscience, but enough to occupy two theaters and thus to ward off a slew of Van Johnson one-nighters and a raft of comedies about pregnant teen-agers. To appreciate any season, it is necessary to visualize some of the plays that didn't make it. Pleasure in the theater is often the simple absence of pain.

And even the less successful plays have had a lower obnoxiousness rating than usual. "A Lion in Winter" is literate and amusing (although I don't understand the encomiums heaped on its use of language, which struck me as lively but essentially commonplace). "Superman" is nothing like as bad as it might have been. Hal Holbrook's "Mark Twain Tonight" has successfully sealed off the Longacre, keeping the pregnant teen-agers out of one more theater. All in all, the only 4-ring catastrophe I can recall is William Inge's "Where's Daddy"; and Inge is a problem for which other seasons must take responsibility.

Off-Broadway has not only been relatively disaster-free; it has disgorged a few small plums. "Monopoly" by Irving Kass is the juiciest of these, "Ludlow Fair" by Lanston Wilson possibly the second juiciest. "Serjeant Musgrave's Dance" looks better the longer you're away from it. "The Fifth Horse," which I hope to say something about next week, offers a splendid performance by Dustin Hoffman: perhaps, in view of the role's demands, one of the best performances of the year.

Lincoln Center, of course, knows no seasons, one play is as difficult as another for this gallant but perennially over-matched company. Some nice things were said here and there about its "Caucasian Chalk Circle" because some of the boys could hardly bring themselves to kick it again, and because by then one was simply rooting for the actors not to fall into the footlights (thus do legends become exaggerated). But in point of fact, "The Caucasian Chalk Circle" only confirmed what we already knew: that this cast can never dominate this setting; that quite apart from acting skill, it lacks the distinction, the "class," to make an impression on these formidable surroundings.

Since the New York area teems with excellent actors, chronically underworked, it would be gross misfeasance for the Messrs. Blau and Irving to persevere with their California transplants for another season. Some of course should stay, but the worst of the egg-layers should be shipped back. Some actors just don't seem to travel.

With this one tragi-comic exception, this demi-season has been one of the more painless in living memory. Usually this would not be enough to crow over. But things being as they are (go back to beginning for the rest of this argument).

WILFRID SHEED

DOING IT WITH MIRRORS

THE SCREEN

This is a week of oddities, not with films that are screwball odd but with pictures that are one-of-a-kind odd. "Arabesque," for instance, is lovely to look at, exciting as the deuce, and "full of sound and fury, signifying nothing." Set in London and the English countryside, exquisitely photographed in Technicolor, and decorated to the hilt by producer Stanley Donen, "Arabesque" also has the advantage of Donen's direction of an outstanding cast who turn in performances as sparkling as the glamorous production. What the picture doesn't have is a plot one can follow. As far as I can make out, the whole thing, larded with suspense, wild chases, and fast-moving action, is a spoof on the old Hitchcock thrillers.

There's not a dull moment in it from the time Gregory Peck, an American exchange prof at Oxford who's an authority on ancient languages, finds himself involved with a Middle East prime minister and then with an oil magnate, played with oily villainy by Alan Badel. Involvement and tension increase when the oil magnate's mistress (Sophia Loren looking like a million dollars in a stunning Christian Dior wardrobe) warns Peck that he will probably be killed after he finishes his job of deciphering a secret message in Hittite hieroglyphics. So Peck and Loren make a hairbreadth escape from the oilman's house, and the fierce chase is on—through a zoo, a wheat field where a mower is cutting away, a junk yard, and other unlikely places made all the more unique by Donen's imaginative camera. Perhaps because the story is so thin, Donen jazzed

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it up with needless mystery and photographic tricks of kaleidoscopic beauty. Loren and Peck look and act their best and handle the amusing dialogue skillfully. If you don't insist on a clear, sense-making plot, you should enjoy this glittering, well-named "Arabesque."

Although I am not an authority on the subject, or even a balletomane, I do enjoy attending ballets every now and then. I prefer the moderns, but my favorite of favorites is "Giselle" which, for me when it's well done, reaches the heights of romantic poetry in dance. My greatest disappointment, however, has been ballet in movies, most of which let a static camera photograph hands and feet in close-ups and the ensemble in long shots and thus become, no matter how famous the dancers, little more than a filmed record for the archives. So I am glad to report that "The Sleeping Beauty," a full-length ballet film made by Russia's Kirov Ballet company, is both excellent movie and ballet.

Produced by Konstantin Sergeyev who also co-directed and did the choreography for the film, which is shorter than the stage version, this "Sleeping Beauty" has a fluid camera that often seems to be dancing to the beautiful Tchaikovsky music as it follows the dancers in the enchanting fairy tale. The handsome sets and costumes and the dancers themselves are shown to advantage in Technicolor on a wide screen. Although the pageantry slows up the action at times, it is well displayed in its grandeur by the 70mm cameras, which also concentrate at appropriate times on close-ups of Alla Sizova as Princess Aurora, and Yuri Soloviev as the Prince who wakens and weds her, and on the dancing duels between Good and Evil as the Lilac Fairy and Wicked Fairy battle it out. Balletomanes may object to some of the cuts made for the screen version, but audiences interested in cinema as well as in ballet should find the whole picture a delight.

It is hard to say who is the audience for "Stop the World —I Want To Get Off." But I suppose any stage play as popular as this musical comedy just *had* to be filmed. Since I wasn't too keen about the original and never did understand what all the shouting was about, I didn't expect to be enraptured with the movie version. And I'm not. Producer Bill Sargent and director Philip Saville have actually filmed the play right in a theater, and except for a few changes in the original book, music and lyrics by Anthony Newley and Leslie Bricusse and some unusual camera angles as well as occasional shots of the audience in the theater and actors backstage, the movie version of "Stop the World" is just the same as the stage show. What plot there is might have stemmed from "Room at the Top" as it tells the story of Littlechap, the eternal opportunist, who gets the boss' daughter, Evie, pregnant, marries her, rises to the top in his father-in-law's business, has a few love affairs along the way, goes into politics (with the Opportunist Party), is elevated to the peerage, and finally realizes in his dotage that the only person he ever loved was himself.

If this sounds like a sermon, it is in a way—and the kind of a show that might be written by college kids. Sometimes bawdy, sometimes amusing, sometimes platitudinous, but never having any real depth, "Stop the World" goes on and on. Tony Tanner is good as Littlechap, especially in his miming numbers and he gets over the themes of his song numbers well. And very attractive is Millicent Martin as Evie (she plays Littlechap's extra-curricular loves as well). Her "Typically English" song has the film's best satire. And Littlechap shines with "What Kind of a Fool Am I?" But I doubt if any of the audience will ask themselves that question as they leave the theater.

PHILIP T. HARTUNG

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BOOKS

Breaking and reshaping theological concepts

What Is This Treasure

JAMES A. PIKE

Harper & Row, $3

STEPHEN S. GARMEY

In the days when bishops threw things at each other during ecumenical councils, there was one invaluable idea still current, which is now almost forgotten: the impossibility of ever wringing the Gospel adequately into creeds. The mysteries of the Faith do not submit to such precision willingly; and a sense of their resistance is an essential corollary to any creed. Another virtue possessed by many early but few recent bishops is a sense of metaphor as possibly the only way to express the inexpressible, except for silence. And the wild metaphors used by bishops like Chrysostom in his sermons make those in the creeds seem very tame.

They would not go over today, however, when plain speech is in order and poetry so little read. The problem is real: whether modern people can be expected to accept even such metaphorical language as they find in the creeds. Extracted from the liturgy, a creed soon grows cold; perhaps its intended setting, where the Mystery is liturgically entered into, is essential. But should its traditional doctrinal concepts be considered viable today, or must they be revised into modern terms: that is the question.

There are two main classes of answer. One says no to revision; because no concept can adequately express mystery, least of all a modern revision, with its probable distrust of metaphor. The old formulas can stand if given modern reinterpretation. The other, more radical, school demands revision, claiming that any concept must submit to being broken and reshaped by modern experience or it will render its content inaccessible.

Bishop Pike is a member of the second school, as the title of his new book indicates. The treasure of the Faith he says, must be kept in the "earthen vessels" of doctrine, concepts, categories, creeds. But it must never be identified with these, for that is to treat what is transient as ultimate, which is idolatry. Essentially, Bishop Pike is concerned to keep the expression of the mysteries of the Faith open-ended: available to new forms, new vessels. His book is wide open to criticism on grounds of modernism and reductionism and in many places his logic is faulty; he will no doubt be attacked from every quarter.

His widely quoted remark that he has jettisoned the Incarnation finds here a more adequate context. The position of Christ is the major subject of this book and he derives his understanding of the divinity of Christ from St. Paul, particularly from the Colossians text, that in Christ "the complete being of the Godhead dwells embodied." He asserts that "as God was fully in Jesus in life here, so was He beyond the grave," . . . "God is actively ready to break through into the life of every man as meaning, accepting love, and new life," and "was able, through the freedom, openness and wholeness of Jesus, to break through fully in Him."

There have been other significant examples of divine breakthrough and Bishop Pike mentions Buddha and Socrates. In the recent *Look* article, he is cited as saying that Jesus differed from these in degree, not kind; though Jesus "is still unique because God who breaks through Him is unique." This as it stands is a *non-sequitur* and, if it was actually stated in this way, was probably provoked by abhorrence of any appearance of a Christology denying the humanity of Christ. In this book, Bishop Pike explains his position more clearly. Regarding the divinity of Jesus, he affirms "a difference from all else . . . an ontological, qualitative, difference of kind." Regarding the humanity of Jesus and the way in which day to day He experienced God (being no demi-god but a real man), he sees a difference in degree between Him and any other man. But this, Biship Pike claims, does not affect Jesus' human uniqueness. It is possible, he says, to be relativistic in method (placing Jesus "on a curve" with Buddha and Socrates) without being finally relativistic. By way of analogy to this, he suggests that if one student in a class receives the only A, that student is, without any equivocation in the use of the word, unique. "We all affirm of Jesus," he says, "in a genuine sense, uniqueness."

Bishop Pike is a man passionate not to lose any for the Christian Faith because of unnecessary impediments. He is more sensitive than many to the language barriers which unnecessarily alienate people and to the exclusiveness of many Christian spokesmen which fails to grasp the degree of consistency between God-in-Christ and God-in-Buddha. If he is to be condemned, let it be for the impetuosity of a pastor who will risk offending ninety-nine safe souls to rescue one in danger of being lost. When he is praised, let it also be for disturbing some neat conceptions of our largely inconceivable God.

Propaganda

JACQUES ELLUL

Knopf, $8.95

RONALD I. RUBIN

Propaganda, by whatever name it is called, grows in importance as a political phenomenon, both domestically and internationally. Yet we publicly refuse to acknowledge its pivotal role. For example, the United States Information Agency—the agency aiming at courting foreign public opinion—substitutes "Information" for propaganda, as though the United States is engaged in seducing an unknowning people.

Propaganda by Ellul is valuable not

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only for its attempt at dispelling our euphemisms for propaganda, but for highlighting its omnipresence. Ellul defines propaganda as "a set of methods used by an organized group with a view to causing the active or passive participation in its actions by a mass of individuals psychologically unified through psychological manipulations and incorporated in an organization."

He believes it is wrong to view propaganda, as such, as a system of lies or half-truths, and thereby an inevitable evil to those who would be free. He considers propaganda an indispensable condition for the development of technical progress and the establishment of a technological civilization. Thus, education is not the antidote to propaganda but, in a sense, its bedrock. For what Ellul has called "The Technological Society" to be operative presumes the education of the population as a pre-requisite.

To be sure, the better educated one is, the greater is one's vulnerability to modern propaganda. Ellul argues that since intellectuals feel compelled to have opinions on all matters of public import, they fall prey to opinions offered them by propaganda, many of which are unverifiable. Furthermore, the egoism of intellectuals in seeking to "judge for themselves" cements their dependence on this secondhand information.

As for the masses: propaganda is needed for the exercise of power for the simple reason that the masses must feel that they are participating in the political affairs of the modern state. Far from praising the role of the masses in a democracy, Ellul considers their judgment so variable and fluctuating that the government could never base a course of action on it. Still, the government cannot act without the masses in a democracy. So, what can it do?

Only one solution is possible: as the government cannot follow opinion, opinion must follow the government. "The democratic state, precisely because it believes in the expression of public opinion and does not gag it, must channel and shape that opinion if it wants to be realistic and not follow an ideological dream."

Central to Ellul's thesis is the paradox that the more individualistic society allegedly becomes, the greater is the usage of propaganda and thought control. The problem in adjusting man to a technological environment—the tempo of work, the noise, the crowded cities, the absence of apparent purpose in life and so on—all force man to find a myth to transcend all these concrete disadvantages. Propaganda in certain societies (Soviet and Chinese) therefore help make man's condition more acceptable to him.

There is no ready solution to the frightening growth of propaganda. Ellul suggests, however, that the people recognize the extreme effectiveness of the weapon used against them, and that they be cognizant of their frailty and vulnerability instead of being soothed by illusions of security—illusions that neither man's nature nor the techniques of propaganda permit him to possess.

This is a masterful work; its importance will undoubtedly grow with the passage of time, as its prophetic forebodings are borne out.

The Doctor is Sick

ANTHONY BURGESS

Norton, $4.50

IRVING MALIN

This novel begins with a question: " 'And what is *this* smell?' asked Dr. Railton. He thrust a sort of inkwell under Edwin's nose." The question, like the scent itself, is ambiguous and terrifying at the same time; it is incorrectly answered by the patient.

The opening paragraph introduces us to a world of deception. Edwin cannot use his "senses"; although he is suffering from a physical illness—a suspected brain tumor—he is also crippled emotionally. He refuses to explore reality; he wants to stop its flow, or better yet, to contain it in words. It is ironic that he objects to being treated as a *thing* by the various nurses, technicians, and doctors—at one point he screams that he is more than a diseased brain—because he has destroyed his own vital humanity.

Edwin is impotent. (He joins the heroes of *Honey for the Bears, The Long Day Wanes,* and *The Wanting Seed.*) He allows his wife to sleep with other men. Does his physical illness cause him to approve? Should he use the illness as a superior rationalization? Can he even perceive his reasons? These questions—which could be more disturbing than those of Dr. Railton—are, strangely enough, less important to him than the roots of language: "Words, he realized, words, words, words. He had lived too much with words and not what the words stood for." He is potent with "dead" words, not with living bodies.

But there is a sudden transformation. Edwin flees from the sick world to the London streets; he encounters a robust assortment of perverts, thieves, pimps, and vaudeville performers. He is no longer the doctor of philogy; he has no time to be himself—or the role he has perfected over many years. He is reborn as he is bruised by common (or uncommon?) humanity. He finds that he can employ different words, clothes, and perceptions; he can *act*. He is now open to the flow of experience.

This is not to say that he ever "masters" life. Coincidences abound; events duplicate themselves; identities change. Thus he meets the Stone twins who cannot be properly identified, and the dog named "Nigger"; he gives the mock-lesson in the pub; he delights in the dream-like party given by Aristotle (or Joey?) Thanatos. The final twist occurs at the end of the novel. He discovers that helter-skelter reality exists only in his shocked mind—disease has produced health! But he is not allowed this simple turnabout. He proceeds to "relive" his rebirth of images. Although the last words of the novel are " 'the end, that's what it is, the end,' " these don't end anything; indeed, they reintroduce the opening question: *How can he smell reality?*

The publisher claims that this novel is exhilarating. He is partially right. One mad adventure follows another so swiftly that Edwin is almost "drowned." He lies under careening adjectives, epic catalogues. Although his involuntary death is aesthetically relevant—we are made to participate in Edwin's rebirth—we

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feel that Burgess cannot *stop*. He becomes word-intoxicated; he sacrifices the personality of his hero—as "sick" as it may be—to the healthy rush of language. We are depressed and uplifted.

There is a related problem. Because we have been so conditioned by Burgess to see reality *as* dream, we find it difficult to understand the game. Is he playing seriously? Does he intend us to get his message? Is he merely frivolous? Such questions are raised by the uneven quality of the adventures. We are left, finally, with the belief that there is less to this novel than meets the eye. Now we resemble Edwin who regarded reality in the same way. Or do we?

Liberals and Communism

FRANK WARREN III

Indiana University Press, $6.95

MAURICE R. BERUBE

"Those who have forgotten the past are doomed to repeat it." Taking Santayana's admonition to heart, Professor Frank Warren rakes the spectrum of liberal thought during the "red decade" of the thirties with the avowed purpose of "understanding the very different liberalism of the sixties." Contemporary liberalism, he concludes, is in crisis; a crisis directly attributable to an historical frame of mind.

The contemporary American liberal eschews ideology in the name of tough-minded pragmatism and promotes a fuzzy coalitionism where "to be on the right side of history is being equated with being on the right side of the Democratic administration in power." In other words by overreacting to the alleged sins of the Popular Front of the thirties, he has embraced a defensive and narrow consensus politics, while retaining much that was bad of that unholy alliance. All too often the evils of a social malaise and a disastrous foreign policy are minimized to avoid "conflicts with conservatives in the name of consensus."

Professor Warren overstates his case. Even a casual survey of current liberal thinking reveals a growing chorus of disenchantment with the Johnsonian consensus; the war in Vietnam has proved the watershed of coalition politics.

He is on firmer ground when tracing the talmudic convolutions of liberal thought during the thirties. In piecing together the mosaic of liberalism *vis à vis* Communism—as expressed in the pages of *The Nation, The New Republic, Common Sense*, and the writings of a small but representative band of liberal intellectuals from John Dewey to Louis Fischer—Professor Warren adds a brilliant and perceptive chapter to the seemingly endless history of Communism in American life.

In the process he sets the record straight concerning the myth promulgated by conservatives of the liberal as "dupe" manipulated by the Communist superheroes on the left. Liberals in the thirties generally regarded the Russian experiment with critical support at best. For American liberals, whose only common ground was an ideology of "socialized planning," the Russian experiment

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provided an inspiring model—and this is the crucial distinction—only in so far as it served as a counterpoint by which to criticize the deficiencies of the economic and social fabric of America. In depression America, capitalism had failed while the planned economy of Russia worked. The liberal ideology of planning, however, lacked the categorical imperative of violent revolution. To the native American Communist, for whom planning and capitalism were not only incompatible but for whom the millennium must come to be only through an apocalypse, this simply was the heresy of American Exceptionalism.

And the Communists disdained the liberal clamor for a united front; there could be no alliance with forces of decadent reaction. It is true that they came to be the more notorious residents of the Popular Front; yet one could seriously question whether this was anything more than following the newest directive from the Russian Foreign Office.

However, for the liberal the Popular Front satisfied a deeper need, the author notes. It was a welcome substitute for the ideology of planning; an ideology that had not sufficiently probed the qualitative values and evils inherent in the planned society and was quick to confuse means with ends. Mere celebration of the planned state was not enough and left liberals ill-prepared to confront the bitter political realities revealed by the Moscow trials and subsequently the Nazi-Soviet Pack. The Popular Front collapsed as much from an inability to think in teleological terms as from the excesses of the Russian system.

Professor Warren opens no new perspectives. But in clearing the air, he succeeds in telescoping the need for a New Liberalism—a liberalism based on a viable ideology which will profit from the past rather than be condemned to repeat it.

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New Directions In Anglican Theology

ROBERT J. PAGE

Seabury Press, $4.95

GEORGE H. TAVARD

The sub-title of this book, "A survey from Temple to Robinson," defines the ground covered by the author, both in terms of time and in terms of theological orientation. William Temple, the great Archbishop of Canterbury of the late thirties, belongs in the Anglican tradition of social concern represented by F. D. Maurice in the last century and by Charles Gore earlier in our century; thanks to them, the Anglo-Catholic movement did not remain academic or ritualistic but attempted, in Gore's expression, a "reconstruction of belief" in keeping with the scientific and social requirements of the times. This period, up to Temple, has been well illustrated by the present Archbishop of Canterbury in his volume, *From Gore to Temple*.

With Robinson, the Bishop of Woolwich, and his slim but notorious book *Honest to God*, something new, and not altogether good, has entered Anglican thought. As an initiation into some aspects of the thought of Paul Tillich and Dietrich Bonhoffer, *Honest to God* is readable, although there are, in England itself, better initiations into Tillich. However, as a hardly digested re-hash of elements taken out of the context of the total system of Paul Tillich and of random remarks of Bonhoffer about "religionless Christianity," it is not worth theological attention. The Bishop of Woolwich's previous liturgical studies repay careful reading; but it is the Robinson of *Honest to God* which has attracted Robert Page's attention. The selection of this publication as sufficiently epoch-making to warrant its being seen as the end, or the beginning, of a period, would seem to be justified historically: Robinson has now been emulated and overtaken by the absurdity which calls itself the "death of god theology." Yet, from the standpoint of theological substance and interest, the only valid points of Robinson's notion of God are found in what any second-rate manual says about the negative knowledge of God.

Between Temple and Robinson, Robert Page succeeds in the difficult task of selecting significant authors and works from the very rich rainbow of contemporary Anglican literature. While the extremes of lowchurchmanship and of anglo-papalism have lost some of their vitality, the more modern branches of evangelicalism and of anglo-catholicism have come to closer understanding and unity, largely through their common participation in the many ecumenical endeavors in which the Anglican communion has taken part.

Internationally, the position of Anglican theology has been considerably strengthened by the many valuable contributions of non-English thinkers. This relatively new internationalization of Anglican writing is perhaps not sufficiently emphasized here, although the main American theologians are duly mentioned and properly assessed. Another aspect of the international evolution of Anglicanism would have deserved more consideration: the participation of Anglicans in "merger" conversations all over the world, and the already accomplished, or soon to be accomplished, fusion of some provinces of the Anglican Communion into United Churches, open new perspectives, and

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REVIEWERS

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FATHER GEORGE H. TAVARD, A.A. is the author of the recently published *The Church Tomorrow* (Herder & Herder).

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raise many questions concerning the shape of Anglicanism in the next decades. Will the Anglican Communion survive as a distinct Church, or will it simply legate its episcopal structure to a new communion? Will Anglican theology live on as a distinct tradition, or as a mood within a wider Protestant fellowship? The chapter on "the hesitant quest for unity" seems the weakest, because it does not approach the vital questions that ecumenism poses to Anglican ecclesiology.

I am puzzled by the title of chapter 8: "Natural theology: the sick man of Europe." If natural theology is sick, this is not truer in Europe than in America. And if the problem is seen against the background of Europe, then Roman Catholic theology should be included in the discussion: here, much of the "constructive work" which Page hopes will be done has already been done in Germany and France.

CORRESPONDENCE

(*Continued from page 245*)

direct special tax funds. An average five-axle tractor-semi-trailer paid $3,420.64. Truck operators are not only paying full obligations in advance for the new super highways, but many cannot even use these new roads after they're completed, because their I.C.C. certificates specify old routes.

Several of Mr. Shannon's other statements are equally naive. He says trucks are ideal for local hauling of electronic parts, but that their hauling heavy freight or over long distances is what he terms "socially wasteful," and such freight should go on rails. Millions of shippers disagree. Freight only "belongs on railroads" if the rails can meet production requirements. Freight revenues of regulated motor carriers have now exceeded rail freight revenues for several years. Trucks are faster, more flexible, reach everywhere, door-to-door. Incidentally, merging won't give railroads any better inherent capabilities, vis-à-vis trucks.

Mr. Shannon's idea that roads would last longer if not used by trucks is either subconsciously drawn out of the railroads' well-worn propaganda file or his own misconception. Engineers know that weather, including soil instability, is the great "wearer-out" of roads which, if planned properly to the highest present standards for auto traffic, need little added provision for the largest trucks permitted. And trucks pay enough for such extra construction, or more than enough, in special taxes.

Few motorists appreciate that all trucks, while only 15.5 per cent of vehicles, pay a third of all user taxes. In 1964, for example, if trucks had not picked up this tremendous tab, motorists would figuratively had to pay an additional $3.9 billion to maintain highway budgets.

The declaration that "dependable transportation . . . ought to be available in all sections of the country" evokes ready agreement. But a rail network formed mostly in a previous century and laid out for many reasons other than service never nationally achieved that except in rather spotty fashion. It remained for roads and motor vehicles to complete the job, not merely by the sort of planning and controls Mr. Shannon seems to favor, but also by private ingenuity and enterprise moving to meet needs.

Nowhere in his piece did Mr. Shannon mention that this country has the finest transportation of any large country in the world. Its merit is undebatable. The current prosperity would be impossible without it. It has possibilities of improvement, but these will not be helped by confusion of the facts.

WALTER W. BELSON
Director of Public Relations
American Trucking Associations, Inc.

Reply

New York, N.Y.

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get their taxes paid directly into a special fund which can only be spent on building highways which they need in their business.

This, of course, does not prevent their spokesmen such as Mr. Belson, from having the argument both ways. That is, the highway fund is sacrosanct but when the Kennedy and Johnson administrations have proposed higher highway taxes, the truckers complain bitterly. They would like the deficits in highway construction to be picked up by the ordinary taxpayer.

Mr. Belson states that "merging won't give railroads any better inherent capabilities, vis-à-vis trucks." Railroads could more effectively compete with long distance truckers if they were permitted to own their own trucks for short-term deliveries from the railhead to the customer. Then they too could reach everywhere door-to-door. But the trucking lobby has effectively prevented any change in the law that would permit railroads to engage in any other form of transportation.

Mr. Belson blames weather and soil instability for wearing out roads, but even he admits that highways that bear heavy trucking traffic need a "little added provision" and some "extra construction." In a federal interstate highway program costing approximately $50 billion, these extras can cost several billion.

Nowhere in my piece did I mention that this country has "the finest transportation of any large country in the world" because I doubt that is true. The highway program, backed by the automobile industry and the truck lobby, represents a serious distortion of public policy. Passenger railroad service is far inferior to that which prevails in most countries of Europe. Commuter railroads, subways and mass transit facilities in every major metropolitan center are in bad shape. The transport of goods has many inefficiencies and anomalies because each separate part of the transportation industry has selfishly resisted planning and integration. Reforms are long overdue. Mr. Belson's letter only indicates once again how hard it is going to be to achieve them.

WILLIAM V. SHANNON

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Commonweal's Role

When the first issue of The Commonweal was published on November 12, 1924, Calvin Coolidge had just been elected President of the United States. One of the editorials in that issue commented on the Ku Klux Klan, calling it an "outrageous, sinister and ridiculous manifestation of ignorant bigotry, and of shameless violation of American principles." Another editorial urged Americans to "learn something of the high culture, the rich heritage . . . and the great natural wealth" of Latin America. Still another noted that "many forces both at home and abroad have been merging during the last few months to effect greater . . . economic stability."

If there is something familiar about these comments, as though little had happened in forty years, the impression is misleading. Times have changed. We would not today take so much offense at the charge, indignantly rejected by the editors in 1924, that "Religious conditions in South America are similiar to those of the Middle Ages." Nor would we be likely to devote an editorial to Anatole France, as did the first editors.

In the end, these similarities and differences are incidental. The purpose of the men who founded The Commonweal in 1924 was to provide a new expression of Catholicism in American life. "But it will be in no sense," the editors wrote, ". . . an authoritative or authorized mouthpiece of the Catholic Church. It will be the independent, personal product of its editors and contributors, who, for the most part, will be laymen." Through the years, this has been our aim.

—from the 40th Anniversary Issue

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